ADDRESS OF MR. SUMNER

On Thursday evening last, Cooper Institute, in the city of New York, was filled to overflowing with an audience which in respectability favorably compared with any that ever assembled in that large hall. They had assembled to listen to an address by Mr. Senator SUMNER on Foreign Relations. The appearance of the honorable gentleman was the signal for loud applause. After quiet had been restored he proceeded with his discourse of which we today place before our readers the first instalment.

SPEECH OF HON CHARLES SUMNER.

FELLOW CITIZENS: From the beginning of the wat in which we are now engaged, the public interest has alternated anxiously between the current of events at home and the more distant current abroad. Foreign relations have been hardly less absorbing than domestic relations. At times the latter seemed to hang upon the former, and a packet from Europe has been like a messenger from the reat of war. Rumors of foreign intervention are constant, now in the form of mediation, and now in the form of recognition; and more than once the country has been summoned to contront the idea of England, and of France too, in . pen combination with rebe slave-mongers, battling, in the name of slavery, to build an infamous power on the destruction of this Republic.

It may be well for us to turn aside from battle and here at home-from the blazing lines of Gettysburg, Vicks burg, and Charleston—to glance for a moment at the perils from abroad; of course I mean from England and France. for these are the only foreign Powers that thus far have been moved to intermeddle on the side of slavery. The subject to which I now invite attention may not have the attraction of waving standards or victorious marches, but more than any conflict of arms it concerns the civilization of the age. If foreign Powers can justly interfere sgainst buman freedom, this Kepub ic will not be the only suf-

There is always a natural order in unfolding a subject, and I shall try to pursue it on this occasion, under the fol-

First. The perils to our country from foreign Powers. especially as foreshadowed in the unexpected and persistent conduct of England and France since the outbreak of

Secondly The nature of foreign intervention by media-tion, with the principles applicable thereto, as illustrated by historic instances, showing especially how Eugland, by conspicuous, wide-spread, and most determined intervention to promote the extinction of African slavery, is irrevocably committed against any act or policy that can en courage this criminal pretension.

Thirdly. The nature of foreign intervention by recogn tion, with the principles applicable thereto, as illustrated by historic instances—showing that by the practice of naons, and especially by the declared sentiments of British statesmen, there can be no foreign recognition of an insur gent Power where the contest for independence is still

pending.

Fourthly. The moral impossibility of foreign recognition. even if the pretended power be de facto independent, where it is composed of rebel slave-mongers seeking to found a new power with slavery for its declared "corner Pardon the truthful plaintess of the terms which I employ. I am to speak not merely of slaveholders, but of people to whom slavery is a pastion and a business-there fore slave-mongers, now in rebellion for the sake of slave-ry—therefore rebel slave-mongers.

Fifthly. The absurdity and wrong of conceding ocean belligerency to a pretended Power, which, in the first place is without a prize court—so that it cannot be an ocean belligerent in fact—and which, in the second place, even it an ocean beligerent in fact, is of such an odious character

that its recognition is a moral impossibility.

From this review, touching upon the present and the past: leaning upon history and upon law; enlightened always by principles which are an unerring guide, our cou

I -PERILS FROM FOREIGN POWERS.

[Under this head Mr. Summer recites at length the stances in which, as he conceives, the Governments of Great Britain and France have manifested an unfriendly feeling towards this country. The points of his argument in this part of his discourse are recapitulated in our editorial columns.]

11 .- FOREIGN INTERVENTION BY MEDIATION OR INTER-

CESSION. There is another branch of the subject which is not less important. Considering all these things and especially how great Powers abroad have constantly menaced interven-tion in our war, new by criticism and new by profiers of mediation, all tending painfully to something further, it becomes us to see what, according to the principles of i ternational law and the examples of history, will justify foreign intervention, in any of the forms which it may take. And here there is one remark which may be made at the outset. Nations are equal in the eye of international law, so that what is right for one is right for all. It follows no nation can justly exercise any right which it is not bound to concede under like circumstances Therefore, should our cases be reversed, there is nothing which Ergland and France have now proposed or which they may bereafter propose which it will not be our equal right to Ireland or India once more rebel, or when France is in the throes of its next revolution. Generously and for the sake of that international comity which should not be lightly hazarded, we may reject the procedents they now formsb; but it will be hard for them to complain we follow them. Foreign intervention is on its face inconsistent with every

idea of national independence, which in itself is nothing more than the conceded right of a nation to rest undisturbed so long as it does not disturb others. If untions stood absolutely alone, disassociated from each other, so that what passed in one had little or no influence in an other, only a tyrannical or intermedding spirit could fail to recognise this right. But civil zation itself, by drawing nations nearer together and bringing them into one society has brought them under reciprocal influence, so that a nation can now act or suffer by itself alo e. Out of the relations and suggestions of good neighborhood—involving, of course, the admitted right of self-defence—springs the only justification or apolegy which can be found for foreign intervention, which is the general term to signify an inter-position in the affairs of another country, whatever form may take. Much is done under the name of "good whether in the form of mediation or intercession and much also by military power, whether in the declared will of superior force or directly by arms. Recognition of independence is also another instance. Intervention in an form is interference. If peaceable, it must be judged by its motive and tendency; it forcible, it will naturally be re

Intervention may be between two or more nations, or i msy be between the two parties to a civil war; and yet again, it may be where there is no war, foreign or domestic In each case, it should be governed strictly by the same principles, except perhaps that, in the case of a civil war there should be a more careful consideration, not only of the rights, but of the susceptibilities of a nation so severely tried. This is the obvious suggestion of humanity. Indeed intervention between nations is only a common form of participation in foreign war; but intervention is an inter meddling in the domestic concerns of another nation. Of course, whoever acts at the joint invitation of the belliger ent parties, in order to compose a bloody strife, will be en-titled to the blessings which belong to the peacemakers; but, if uninvited, or acting only at the invitation of one party, he will be careful to proceed with reserve and ten derness, in the spirit of peace, and will confine his action to a proffer of good offices in the form of mediation or is tercession, unless he is ready for war. Such a proffer ma be declined without offence. But it can never be forgotte that, where one side is obviously fighting for barb wism any intervention, whatever form it may take-if only l captious criticism, calculated to give encouragement to th wrong side, or to a cure for it time or temperary toleration, if not final success-is plainly immoral. If not contrary o the law of nations, it ought to be

Intervention, in the spirit of peace and for the sake a peace, is one of the refinements of modern civilization. Intervention, in the spirit of war, if not for the sake of war, has filled a large space in history, ancient and modern But all these justances may be grouped under two heads first, intervension in external affairs; and, secondly, intervention in internal sflars. The first may be illustrated by the intervention of the Elector Maurice of Saxony against Charles V .; of King William against Louis XIV ; of Rus sia and France, in the seven years' war; of Russia again between France and Austria, in 1805, and also between France and Prussia, in 1806; and of France, Great Britain, and Sardinia, between Turkey and Russia, in the war

of the Crimea. The intervention of Russia, Austria, and Prussia in the affairs of Po and : of Great Britain among the native Powers of ludia; and of the Allied Powers un inspiration of the treaty of Pilnitz, in the French Revolu-tion, are illustrations of the second head. But without dwelling on these great examples, I shall call attention to which show more especially the growth of intervention, first, in external, and then in internal affairs. And here I shall conceal nothing. Instances, which seem to be against the principles which I have at heart, will at least help to illustrate the great subject, so that you may

INTERVENTION IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. First in order, and for the sake of completeness, I

speak of intervention in external affairs, where two or more nations are parties.

As long ago as 1645, France offered mediation between

what was then called "the two crowns of the North. Sweden and Denmark. This was followed, in 1648, by the famous Peace of Westphalia, the beginning of our pre-

firmed by his spicearance shortly afterwards in the Polish camp. But Sweden, though often belligerent in those days, was not so always, and in 1672, when war broke forth between France and England on the one side and the Dutch provinces on the other, we find her proffering a mediation, which was promptly accepted by England, who justly rejected a similar proffer which the Elector of Bran-deuburg, ancestor of the King of Prussia, had the hardihood to make while marching at the head of his forces to join the Dutch. The English notes on this occasion, written in what at the time was called "sufficiently bad French, but in most intelligible terms," declared that the electoral proffer, though under the pleasant name of mediation—par le doux nom de mediation—was in reality an arbitration; and that instead of a mediation, unarmed and

disinterested, it was a mediation armed, and pledged to Such are some of the earlier instances, all of which have their lesson for us. But there are modern instances. allude only to the triple alliance between Great Britain, Prussis, and Helland, which, at the close of the last century, successfully intervened, by a mediation which could not be resisted, to compel Denmark—which had sided with Russia against Sweden—to remain neutral for the rest of the war; then, in 1791, to dictate the terms of peace between Austria and the Porte; and, lastly, in 1792, to con strain Russia into an abandenment of her designs upon the Turkish Empire, by the peace of Jassey. On this occa-sion the Empress of Russia, Catharine, peremptorily re-fused the mediation of Prussia, and the mediating alliance made its approaches through Denmark, by whose good offices the Empress was finally induced to consent to the treaty. While thus engaged in a work of professed mediation, England, in a note to the French Ambassador, de clined a proposition to act as mediator between France and the Allied Powers, leaving that world embracing war to proceed. But England has not only refused to act as mediator, but has also refused to submit to a mediation. This was during the last war with the United States, when Russia, at that time the ally of England, proffered her mediation between the two belligerents, which was promptly accepted by the United States. Its rejection at the time by England, causing the prelongation of hostili-ties, was considered by Sir James Mackintosh less justi fiable, as " a mediator is a common friend, who counsel both parties with a weight proportioned to their belief in his integrity and their respect for his power; but he is not an a bitrator to whose decision they submit their differences where award is binding on them." The peace of Ghent was concluded at last under Russian mediation. But England has not always been belligerent. When Andrew Jackson menaced letters of marque against France, on account of a failure to pay a sum stipulated in a recent treaty with the United States, King William IV proffered his mediation between the two Powers; but happily the whole question was already arranged. It appears also that, before our war with Mexico, the good offices of England were tendered to the two parties, but neither was willing to accept them, and war took its Such are instances of interference in the exter nal affairs of nations, and since international law is to be traced in history, they furnish a guide which we cannot safely neglect, especially in view of the actual policy of

INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. 2. But the instances of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a nation are more pertinent to the present oc casion. They are numerous and not always harmonious especially if we compare the new with the old. In the earlier times such intervention was regarded with repug-nance. But the principle then declared has been sapped on the one side by the conspiracies of tyranny, seeking the suppression of Liberal institutions, and on the other side a generous sympathy, breaking forth in support of libe ral institutions. According to the old precedents, most of which will be found in the gossiping book of Wicquefort, from whence they have been copied by Mr. Wildman, even foreign intercession was prohibited. Not even in the name of charity could one ruler speak to another on the domestic affairs of his government. Peter, King of Arragen, refused to receive an embassy from Alphonzo King of Castile, entreating mercy for rebels. Charles 1X. of France, a detestable monarch, in reply to ambas sadors of the Protestant princes of Germany, pleading for his Protestant subjects, insolently said that he required no tutors to teach him how to rule. And yet this same sovereign did not hesitate to ask the Duke of Savoy to receive certain subjects "into his benign favor and to restore and re-establish them in their confiscated estates." In this appeal there was a double inconsist-ency; for it was not only an interference in the affairs of another prince, but it was in behalf of Protestants, only a few months before the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Henry III., the successor of Charles, and a detestable monarch, also, in reply to the Protestant ambassadors, announced that he was a sovereign prince, and ordered them to leave his dominions. Louis XIII. was of a milder nature, and yet when the English ambassador, the Earl of Carlisle, presumed to speak in favor of the Huguenots, e declared that no interference between the King of France and his subjects could be approved. The Cardinal Richelieu, who governed France so long, learning that an attempt was made to procure the i tercession of the Pope, stopped it by a message to his Holiness, that the King would be displeased by any such interference. The Pope himself, on another recorded occasion, admitted that it would be a pernicious precedent to allow a subject to negotiate terms of accommodation through a toreign prince. On still another occasion, when the King France, forgetting his own rule, interposed in behalf of the Barberini family, Innocent X. declared, that as he had no desire to interfere in the sflairs of France, he trusted that his Melesty would not interfere in his. Oueen Christins, of Sweden, on merely hinting a disposition to proffer her good offices for the settlement of the unhappy visions of France, was told by the Queen Regent that she might give herself no trouble on the subject, and one her own ministers at Stockholm declared that the over ure had been properly rejected. Nor were the States General of Holland less sensitive. They even went so far as to refuse audience to the Spanish ambassador, seek ing to congratulate them on the settlement of a domestic question, and, when the French ambassador undertook to lead for the Roman Catholics, the States by formal reso ution denounced his conduct as inconsistent with the peace and constitution of the Republic, all of which was ommunicated to him by eight deputies, who added by word of mouth whatever the resolution seemed to war

in plainness of speech.

Nor is England without similar examples. Louis XIII. shortly after the marriage of his sister Henrietta Maria with Charles I, consented that the English ambassado should interpose for the French Protestants; but when the French ambassador in England requested the repeal of a law against Roman Catholics, Charles expressed his sur prise that the King of France should presume to inter-meddle in English affairs. Even as late as 1745, when, after the battle of Culloden, the Dutch ambassador in France was induced to address the British Government behalf of Charles Edward, the Pretender, to the effect that if taken he should not be treated as a rebel, it is re or reed that this intercession was greatly resented by the British Government, which, not content with an apology from the unfortunate official, required that he should rebuked by his own Government also. And this is British testimony with regard to intervention in a civil war, ever when it took the mildest form of intercession for the life of

But, in the face of these repulses, all these nations, at different times, have practiced intervention in every variety of form-sometimes by intercession or " good offices' only, sometimes by mediation, and often by arms. Even these instances attest the intermeddling spirit, for wherever intervention was thus repulsed it was at least at-

tempted. But there are two precedents belonging to the earlier peri- d which deserve to stand apart, not only for their his-toric importance, but for their applicability to our times. The first was the effort of that powerful minister, who, during the minority of Louis XIV, swayed France, Cardial Mazarin, to institute a mediation between King Charles and his Parliament. The civil war had already been raged for years; good men on each side had fallen, Falkland fighting for the King and Hampden fighting for the Parliament, and other costliest blood had been shed on the lds of Worcester, Edgebill, Newbury, Marston Moor, and Naseby, when the ambitious Cardinal, wishing to serve the King, according to Clarendon, promised " to press the Parliament so imperiou-ly and to denounce a war against them if they refused to yield what was reasonable. the important service he selected the famous Pomponne de Believre, of a family tried in public duties-himself President of the Parliament of Paris and a peer of Franceconspicuous in personal qualities, as in place, whose beau-tiful head preserved by the graver of Nautuell, is illustrious in art, and whose dying charity lives still in the great hospital of the Hotel Dieu at Paris. On his arrival at London the graceful ambassador presented himself to that Long Parliament which knew so well how to guard Eoglish rights Every overture was at once rejected, by formal proceedings, from which I copy these words: "We to declare that we ourselves have been careful on all oca tons to compose these unhappy troubles, yet we have not, neither can, admit of any mediation or interposing be twixt the King and us by any foreign Prince or State; and we desire that his Maj sty, the French King, will rest satisfied with this our resolution and answer. On the committee which drew this reply was John Seiden, unsur passed for learning and ability in the whole splendid his-tory of the English bar, on every book of whose library was written, "Before every thing, liberty;" and also that Harry Vane whom Milton, in one of his most inspired sonnets, addresses as

Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old, Than whom a better Ser ator ne'er held The helm of Rome, when gowns not arms repelled The herce Epirot and the African bold.

Wiequefort, L'I mbasradeur, vol I, p. 185. Guizot's Cromwell, vol. II , p. 210.

England when ruled by the great Protector, called in his own day "chief of men." No, "phon so powerful as to be exempt from that irresistil...; ercession, where beneath the garb of peace there was a gleam of arms. From France, even under the rule of Mazarin, he claimed respect for the Protestant name, which he insisted upon making great and glorious. From Spain, on whose extended empire the sun at that time never ceased to the protection of the sun at the su shine, he insisted that so Englishman should be subject to the inquisition. Reading to his council a despatch from Admiral Blake, announcing that he had obtained justice from the Viceroy of Malaga, Cromwell said "that he hoped to make the name of Eorlishmen as great as ever that of Roman had been." In this same lofty mood he turned to propose his mediation between Protestant Sweden and Protestant Bremen, "chiefly bewailing that being both his friends they should so despitefully combat one against another;" "offering his assistance to a commedious accommodation on both sides," and "exhorting them by no means to refuse any houest conditions or reconciliation." Here was intervention between nation and nation; but it was soon followed by an intervention in the internal affairs of a distant country, which of all the acts of Cromwell is the most touching and sublime. The French ambassador was at Whitehall urging the signature of a treaty, when news unexpectedly came from a secluded valley of the Alps, far away among those mountain torrents which are the affluents of the Po, that a company of pious Protestants, who had been for centuries gathered there. where they kept the truth pure "when our fathers worshipped stocks and stones," were now suffering terrible persecution from their sovereign, Emanuel, of Savoy; that they had been despoiled of all possessions and liberties, brutally driven from their homes, given over to a licentious and infuriate violence, and that when they turned in self-defence they had been "slain by the bloody Piemontese, that rolled mother with infant down the rocks:" and it was reported that French troops took part in this dismal transaction. The Protector heard the story and his pity flashed into anger. He declined to sign the treaty until France united with him in securing justice to these humble sufferers, whom he called the Lord's people. For their relief be contributed out of his own purse £2,000, and authorized a general collection throughout Logland, which reached to a large sum; but, besides giving money, he set apart a day of humiliation and prayer for them Nor was this all. "I should be glad," wrote his Secretary. Thurloe, "to have a mo t particular account of that business, and to know what has become of these poor people, for whom our very souls here do bleed." But a mightier pen than that of any plodding secretary was enlisted in this pious intervention. It was John Milton, glowing with that indignation which his sonnet on the massacre in Piemont has made immortal in the heart of man, who wrote the magnificent despatches, in which the English nation of that day, after declaring itself "linked together with its distant brethren, not only by the same type of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion," naturally and gloriously insisted that "whatever had been decreed and gloriously insisted that "whatever had been decreed to their disturbance on account of the reformed religion should be abrogated, and that an end be put to their oppressions." But not content with this call upon the Prince of Savoy, the Protector appealed to Louis XIV, and also to his Cardinal Minister; to the States General of Holland; to the Protestant Cantous of Switzerland; to the King of Denmark; to Gustavus Adolphus, and even to the Pro estant Unitarian Prince of remote Transylvania; and always by the pen of Milton-rallying these Princes, and Powers in joint intreaty and intervention and "if need be o some other speedy course that such a numerous multi tude of our innocent brethren may not miserably perish for want of succor and assistance." The regent of Savoy, for want of succor and assistance." The regent of Savoy who was the daughter of Henry IV, professed to be af testant subjects "a free pardon, and amounced for her Pro-testant subjects "a free pardon, and also such privileges and graces as cannot but give the Lord Protector a sufficient evidence of the great respect borne both to his person and mediation."† But there was still delay. Meanwhile Cromwell began to inquire where English troops might debark in the Prince's territories, and Mazarin anxious to complete the yet unfinished treaty with England, joined in requiring an immediate pacification in the valleys and the restoration of these per scuted people to valleys and the restoration of these per ecuted people to their ancient liberties. It was done. Such is the grand-est intervention of English history, inspired by Milton, en forced by Cromwell, and sustained by Louis XIV, with his Cardinal Minister by his side, while foreign nations

watched the scene.

But this great instance, constituting an inseparable part of the glory of the Protector, is not the last occasion on which England intervened in behalf of the liberties of Protestants. Troubles began in France with the revocation of the edict of Nantes; but these broke forth in the rebellion of the Camisards, smarting under the revocation.
Sheltered by the mountains of the Cevennes, and nerved
by their good cause, with the device "Liberty of Conon their standards, they made head against two successive Marshals of France, and perplexed the old age of Louis XIV, whose arms were already enfeebled by for-eign war. At last, through the mediation of England, the great monarch made terms with his Protestant rebels, and the civil war was ended ;

, more often armed than unarmed itself in the middle of the last century. All decency was set aside when Frederick of Prussia, Catharine of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria invaded and partitioned Poland, under the pret-xt of suppressing anarchy. Here was intervention with a vengeance, and on the side of arbitrary power. But such is human inconsistency, there was almost at the same time another intervention in the opposite d rection. It was the armed intervention rance, followed by that of Spain and Holland, in behalf of American independence. But Spain began intervention here by an offer of mediation, with a truce, which was eccepted by France on condition that meanwhile the Unied States bould be independent in fact | Then came, in 1788, the armed intervention of Pru-sia, to sustain an liberal faction in Holland, which was followed afterwards by the compact between Great Britain, Prussia, and Holand, known as the Triple Alliance, which began the business of its coparmership by an armed intervention to reconcile the insurgent provinces of Belgium to the German Emperor and their ancient constitution. As France began to be shaken by domestic troubles, mediation in her affairs was occasionally proposed. Among the papers of Burke is a draft of a memorial written in 1791, in the name of the Government, effecing what he calls "this healing mediation." Then came the vast coalition for armed interven tion in France to put down the Republic. dreary cloud was for a moment brightened by a British attempt in Parliament, through successive debates, to institute an intercession for Lalayette, immured in the dungeons of European despotism. "It is reported," said one geons of European despotism. "It is reported," said on of the orators, "that America has solicited the liberation of her unfortunate adopted fellow-citizen. Let British magnanimity be called in aid of American gratitude and exhibit to mankind a noble proof that wherever the principles of genuine liberty prevail they never fail to inspire sentiments of generosity, feelings of humanity, and a de-

** station of oppression *** Meanwhile France, against which all Europe intervened played her part of intervention, and the scene was Swit z-r and. In the unhappy disputes between the aristoratic and democratic parties, by which this republic had been distracted, French mediation had already chronic, beginning in 1738, when it found a partial apology in the invitation of several of the cantons and of the overnment of Geneva; occurring again in 1768, and again n 1782. The mountain republic, breathing the sir office form, was naturally moved by the convulsions of the French Revolution. Civil war ensued, and grew in bitterness. At last, when France herself was composed under the powerful arm of the First Consul, we find him turning to empose the troubles of Switz-riand. He was a military ruler, and always acted under the instincts of military power. By an address, dated at the palace of St. Cloud, Bonsparte declared that already for three years the Swiss had been slaying each other, and that, if left to themselves, they would continue to slay each other for three years more without coming to any understanding; that at first he had resolved not to interfere in their affairs, but that he ow changed his mind, and announced himself as the medist or of their difficulties, proclaiming confidently that his mediation would be efficacious, as became the great people in whose name he spoke. Deputies from the cantons, together with all the chief citizens, were summoned to Paris, in order to declare the means of restoring the union, securitg peace, and reconciling all parties. Of course armed mediation; but Switzerland vas weak, and France was strong, while the declared object union, peace, and reconciliation. I know not if all this was accomplished, but the civil war was stifled, and the n was established by what is entitled in history

the Act of Mediation.

From that period down to the present moment interven tion in the internal affairs of other nations has been a prevailing practice-now cautiously and peaceably, now offer eively and forcibly Sometimes it was against the rigots f men; sometimes it was in their favor. Sometimes England and France stood aloof; sometimes they took part. The Congress of Vienna, which undertook to settle the map of Europe, organized a universal and perpetual intervention in the interest of monarchical institutions and xisting dynasties. This compact was renewed at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, in 1818, with the explanatory declaration that the five great Powers would hever assume jurisdiction over questions concerning the rights and interests of another Power, except at its request and without inviting such Power to take part in the conference. But

"Vanghn's Protectorate, vol. I. p. 177.

'Grizot's History of Cromwell, vol. II, p. 211-219; Miltoa's

Prose Works, vol. VI, p. 318-7.

'Merin—article Ministre.

Marten's Nouvelles Causes Celebres, vol. i, p. 434.

Pallamentary History, vol. xxxii, p. 38; vol. xxxii, p. 1348.

Garden Histoire des Traits de Paix, vol. viii., p. 21.

tion for the suppression of liberal principles in Naples; and again, two fyears later, at the Congress of Verona these same Powers, together with France, instituted another armed intervention to suppress liberal principles in Spain, which ultimately led to the invasion of that kingdom and the overthrow of its constitution. France was the belligerent agent, and would not be turned aside, although the perent agent, and would not be turned aside, although the Duke of Wellington at Verona and Mr Cauning at home sought to arrest her armies by the mediation of Great Britain, which mediation was directly sought by Spain and directly refused by France. The British Government, in admirable letters, composed with unsurpassed skill and constituting a noble page of international law, disclaimed for itself and denied to other Powers the right to require changes in the internal institutions of independent States with the menace of hostile attack in case of refusal; and i bravely declared to the imperial and royal interver that "so long as the struggles and disturbances of Spain should be confined within the circle of her own territory they could not be admitted by the British Government afford any plea for foreign interference;" and in still another note it repeated that "a menace of direct and imminent danger could alone, in exception to the general rule, justify foreign interference." These were the words of Mr. Canning; but even Lord Castlereagh, in an earlier note, had asserted the same limitation, which at a later day had the unqualified support of Lord Grey and also of Lord Aberdeen Justly interpreted they leave no apology for armed intervention except in a case of direct and in minent danger, when a nation, like an individual, may be thrown upon the great right of self-defence.

But Great Britain bore testimony by what she did as well as by what she refused to do. Even while resisting the armed intervention of the great conspiracy her Government intervened cometimes by mediation and some-times by arms. Early in the contest between Spain and her colonies she consented, on the invitation of Spain, to act as mediator, in the hepe of effecting a reconciliation; but Spain declined the mediation which she had invited. From 1812 to 1823 Great Britain constantly repealed her offer. In the case of Portugal she went further. Under the counsels of Mr. Canning, whose speech on the occa-sion was of the most memorable character, she intervened by landing troops at Lisbon; but this intervention was vindicated by the obligations of treaty. Next came the greater instance of Greece, when the Christian Powers of Europe intervened to arrest a protracted struggle and o save this classic land from Turkish tyranny. Here the first step was a pressing invitation from the Greeks to the British and French Governments for their mediation with the Ottoman Porte. These Powers, together with Russia, proffered the much desired intervention, which the Greeks at once accepted and the Turks rejected. Battle had already raged fiercely, accompanied by barbarous massacre. Without delay the allied forces were directed to compel the cessation of hostilities, which was accomplished by the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino and the occupation of the Morea by French troops. At last, under the continued mediation of these Powers, the ndependence of Greece was recognised by the Ottoman Porte, and another free State, consecrated to freedom, took its place in the family of nations. But mediation it Turkish affairs did not stop here. The example of Greece was followed by Egypt, whose provincial chief, Mehem-Ali, rebelled, and, by a genius for war, succeeded in dis-possessing the Ottoman Porte not only of Egypt, but of other possessions also. This civil war was first arrested by temporary arrangement at Kutoyah in 1833, under the mediation of Great Britain and France, and finally ended by an armed mediation in 1840, when, after elaborate and irritating discussions, which threatened to involve Europe, a treaty was concluded at London between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by which the Pacha w. s compelled to relinquish some of his conquests, while he was secured in the Government of Egypt as a perpetuavassal of the Porte. France, dissatisfied with the terms of this adjustment, stood aloof from the treaty, which found its apology, such as it had, first, in the invitation of the Sutan, and, secondly, in the desire to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire as essential to the balance of power and the peace of Europe, to which reasons may also be added the desire to stop the effusion of blood.

Even before the Eastern questions were settled, other complications had commenced in Western Europe. Belgium, restless from the French Revolution of 1830, rose against the House of Orange and claumed her independence. Civil war ensued; but the great Powers promptly intervened, even to the extent of arresting a Dutch army on its march. Beginning with an armistice, there was long and finespun negotiation, which, assuming the guis-alternately of a papific mediation and of an armed inter-vention, ended at last in the established separation of Bel gaum from Holland, and its recognition as an independen nation. Do you ask why Great Britain intervened on the occasion? Lord John Russell, in the course of debate at a subsequent day, declared that a special motive was "the establishment of a free constitution." Meanwhile the peninsula of Spain and Portugal was torn by civil war The Regents of these two kingdoms respectively appealed to Great Britain and France for aid, especially in the expulsion of the pretender Don Carlos from Spain, and the pretender Dom Miguel from Portugal. For this purpose he quadruple alliance of these Powers was for The moral support derived from this treaty is said to have been important; but Great Britain was compellto provide troops. This intervention, however, was solicitation of the actual Governments. Even after the Spanish troubles were settled the war still lingered in the latter kingdom, when in 1847 the Queen appealed to Great Britain the ancient patron of Portugal, to mediate be-tween herself and her insurgent subjects, and the task was accepted, in the declared hope of composing the difficulties in a just and permanent manner, "with all due regard to the dignity of the Crown on the one hand and the constitutional liberties of the nation on the other. The insurgents did not submit until after military demotrations. But peace and Liberty were the two watch

words bere. Then occurred the European uprising of 1848. France was once more a Republic; but Europe, wiser grown, do not interfere in her affairs, even so much as to write letter. But the case was different with Hungary, whose victorious armies, radiant with liberty regained, expell of the Austrian power only to be arrested by the armed in-tervention of the Russian Czar, who yielded to the double pressure of an invitation from Austria and a fear that successful insurrection might extend into Poland. It was eft for France at the same time in another country, with a strange inconsistency, to play the part which Russia had played in Hungary. Rome, which had risen against the temporal power of the Pope and proclaimed the Republic, was occupied by a French army, which expelled the re-publican magistrates, and, though fifteen years have alendy passed since that unhappy act, the ocupation sti continues. From this military intervention Great Br.tain stood aloof. In a despatch, dated at London, January 28, 1849, Lord Palmerston has made a permanent record to the honor of his country. His words are as follows:

"Her Majesty's Government won'd, upon every accoun Ther Majesty's Government would, upon every account, and not only upon abstract principle, but with reference to the general interests of Europe, and from the value which they attach to the maintenance of peace, sincerely deprecate any a tempt to settle the differences between the Pope and his subjects by the military interference of foreign Powers.

But he gave further point to the whole position of Great Britain, in contrast with France, when he said; "Armed ntervention to assist in retaining a had Government would

e nojustifiable." Such was the declaration of the Lord Palmerston at the lay. But how much more unjustifiable must be assistance to found a bad Government, as is now proposed? The British Minister insisted that the differences should be ac nonmodated by "the diplomatic interposition of friendly Powers," which he declared a much better mode of settle Powers," which he declared a much better mode of settlement than an authoritative interposition of terms by foreign arms. In harmony with this policy Great Britain during this same year united with France in proffering mediation between the insurgent Sicilians and the King of Naples, the notorious Bomba, in the hope of helping the cause of good government and liberal principles. Not disheartened by rebuff, these two Governments in 1856 united in a friendly remonstrance to the same lyraunical sovereign against the harsh system of political arrests which he maintained, and against his cruelty to good citizens thrust without any trial into the worst of prisons. The advice was out any trial into the worst of prisons. The advice was indignantly rejected, and the two Governments that gave it at once withdrew their Ministers from Naples. The sympathy of Russia was on the wrong side, and Prince Gortschakoff, while admitting that "as a consequence of friendly forethought, one Government might give advice to another," declared in a circular that "to endeavor by threats or a menacing demonstration to obtain from King of Naples concersions in the internal affairs of his Government is a violent usurpation of his authority, and an open declaration of the strong over the weak." This was practically answered by Lord C arendon, speaking for Great Britain at the Congress of Paris, when, admitting the principle that no Government has the right to inter-vene in the internal affairs of other nations, he declared that there were cases where an exception to this rule be comes equally a right and a duty; that peace must not be broken, but that there was no peace without justice, and that therefore the Congress must let the King of Nap'es know its desire for an amelioration of his system of gov-eroment, and must demand of him an amnesty for political offenders suffering without a trial. This language was bold beyond the practice of diplomacy; but the interven-tion which it proposed was on the side of humanity. But I must draw this part of the discussian to a close

although the long list of instances is not yet exhausted.

Even while I speak, we hear of intervention by England and France in the civil war between the Emperor of China and his subjects; and also in that other war between the Emperor of Russia on the one side, and the Poles, whon he claims as subjects, on the other side; but with this dif-

* Phillimore's Int. Law, vol. iii., pp. 757-56. † Hansard's Parliament.ry Debates, third serie. 417-66—House of Commons, July 11, 1847. † Phillimore, Int. Law, vol. ii, p. 676. || Ibid, 448.

aent law of nations, which was negotiated under the joint mediation of the Pope and the Republic of Venice, present by Nuncio and Ambassador. Shortly afterwards, in 1655, the Emperor of Germany offered his mediation between Sweden and Poland, but the old historian records that the Swedes suspected him of seeking to increase the than to arrange pending difficulties, which was confirmed by his appearance shortly afterwards in the Polish camp. But Sweden, though often belligerent in those days, was not so always, and in 1672, when war broke forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth between France and England on the one side and the forth process in Poland to us, the Holy Alliance was formed specially to watch and control the revolutionary tendencies of the tevented specially to watch and control the revolutionary tendencies of the existing Government. In the specially to watch and control the revolutionary tendencies o far as it has yet proceeded, it is at least in Poland on the side of liberal institutions. But alas! for human consist-ency, the French Emperor is now intervening in Mexico with armies and navies to build a throne for an Austrian archduke.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE INDIAN TROUBLES IN THE NORTHWEST.

A St. Paul (Minnesota) letter to the New York Tribur announces the return to that place, on the evening of the 8th instant, of Gen. SIBLEY and staff from their campaign against the Sioux Indians. The letter states that "they are all in good health and spirits, and thankful to reach civilization once more. Such a distant, tedious campaign makes the men ready and anxious to go South, and their wishes will soon be gratified." Respecting the results of the Indian campaign, the letter says:

"It is an erroneous impression to suppose that General Sibley, in driving the Indians across the Missouri, con-quered them, or even intimidated their making attacks on the whites. A few days after their hasty flight across the river a party of twenty-four miners who were returning ed by the savages. They fought desperately and bravely but the unequal contest was unavailing, and every man fell a victim to the savage foe. That they sold their lives dearly is attested by the fact that thirty Sioux warriors bit the dust during the contest. There was one woman and child with the party, the former was killed and the latter taken prisoner. No white man lives to tell the tale and the news is derived from half-breed scouts, who coneyed it to Gen. Sibley's returning expedition. veyed it to Gen. Sibley's returning expedition. This route to the gold mines is unsafe for travel as long as Indian hostilities exist, and it will probably be years before that distant section of country will be relieved of their presence.

"The last hope for a successful closing of the campaign is that General Sully will fall upon the Indians with his three thousand cavalry and rout or kill them. He has orders from Gen Pope to press forward, and is furnished with supplies sufficient to last until the middle of November. It is the present intention to have Sully remand on

ber. It is the present intention to have Sully remain on the Missouri during the winter. Supplies will be forward-ed to him for that purpose, and, if this plan is successful, he may be enabled to render some effective service next eason. At all events, the difficulties attendant upor transportation have effectually prevented his accomplishing any

"Reports have reached Fort Abercrombie that the In "Reports have reached Fort Abercrombie that the Indians have recrossed the Missouri and are returning to Devil's Lake, whence they fled when Sibley approached. They claim to have defeated Sibley, and construe his homeward march into flight. The Indians are shrewd enough to see that Sibley was unable to follow them, and this af fords pretty good foundation for their assertion that they were victorious. Their return leaves Indian affairs in the same shape they were last spring; the hostile Indians at Devil's Lake and Sitley's army garrisoning posts five hundred miles this side. It is so late that they will not be likely to molest us this fall and winter, though scattered parties may prowl about. This backward movement will interfere greatly with Sully's campaign, and renders his finding and routing the Indians doubly doubtful. "Standing Buffalo is at Pembina, and sends a message

to Gen. Sibley stating that he and seven other chiefs are ready to surrender themselves, and will give up the murderers of last year. During the late campaign Standing Buffalo stood aloof from his people, but was afraid to inform Sibley of his real feeling. It is now too late, for all practical purposes, to secure the surrender of these chiefs before next season."

We learn from the same correspondent that Mr. Senator Ramsey's treaty expedition met Gen. Sibley's returning command a short distance beyond St. Cloud, and obtained as an escort three companies of cavalry, or mounted infantry, one section of a battery, and the privilege of an infantry company at Fort Abercrombie, if desired. The letter says:

" Senator Ramsey goes to make the treaty which Commissioner Dole attempted last year—usmely, the extinc-tion of the Indian title to all the country bordering on the Red river. This will open that valuable region to trade and travel. The Indian reservations are not along this river, but they claim possession and demand compensation for all the word consumed by the steamboat that runs to the British possessions. They claimed that the boat owed them \$15,000 for wood used previous to this year, and refused to allow a single trip to be made until this was paid As their numbers were powerful, the boat was compelled

place where the Indians have been called together to meet Senator Ramsey is at the crossing of the Red Lake river, on the Pembina trail. The trip will occupy

SOUTH CAROLINA STILL DISSATISFIED.

The Charleston Mercury of the 5th instant expresses cations of the head of the Confederate Government. It says:

"Although carefully covered over with the mantle of secresy by Congress, enough has been disclosed by stern realities to show the total incompetency of President Davis to govern the affairs of the Confederacy. He has lost the confidence of both the army and the pe an election to-morrow was to come off for the Presidency. we believe that he would not get the vote of a single State in the Confederacy. Yet, if the Provisional Congress had done its duly—if the present Congress would do its duty, President Davis could readily be driven into a course of efficiency. He is President of the Confederate States for six years. The Constitution has not been proved to be inadequate to rec ify his imbecilities. He can be controlled and directed as the King of Great Br.tain is. That Ge vernment is a constitutional monarchy, having co ordinate oranches. In Great Britain no policy of the Government, no cabinet adviser, can stand against the expressed opinic of the House of Commons. Are the people less patent in the Confederates States, through their representatives in Congress, than the people of Great Britain in Parliament We do not heleive it.

"The legislative power which Congress possesses, as to measures and men, can control the Government and force efficiency into the administration, whether in the appointment of cabinet officers, commanders of armies fficers, or in the management of our diplomacy, our finances, our military operations, our gaval preparations and the efficiency of our burgaus of conceription, commis-sary stores and quartermaster stores. But this can never be done by those who look upon President Davis as 'ou Moses.'

"Congress must assume its duties under the Constitution as an independent element of power. It must abandon the idea that it is only a secret body for registering the will of the President It must be the people, standing forth in the light of day, clothed with the whole legislative power of the Government, and with their agent, the President, instrumental for their deliverance.

That our cause will ultimately triumph we do not doubt in spite of the incompetency of President Davis and his ally and most dissatrous policy, by which the Confederate States have been deluged with blood and covered over with suffering and misery. His inefficiency and Yankee efficiency will both be overcome."

RECONSTRUCTION .- SOUTHERN DISCONTENT.

From the Georgia Telegraph.

As yet there are very few bold enough to come out openly for reconstruction; but there is reason to fear that there are some craven spirits who secretly harbor the wish in the ignorant hope of saving their property. But there is a class of people in the Confederacy against whom the people should be warned, whose loyalty to the South it is impossible not to doubt. Croakers generally fall under this suspicion, but especially all such as endeavor to stir the embers of old party feeling against sceeders-thus rekindling old party strifes, which every b dy known must tend to div de and weaken us, and thus give aid and

somfort to the enemy,

Now, the time has long passed for discussing that subject Secession is a fixed fact; we have been fighting two years for it; and I cannot separate between opposition to seceders and opposition to accession, which means opposition to the war, and that means submission to Abraham

where ignorance and malignity are so deep rooted as to blind a man to the se inevitable results; and such men are, although they may not be conscious of it, enemies to the Confederacy, and should be regarded accordingly.

It is said that the Alabama elections were controlled by

this idea. If so, I can but fear for Alabama. She has cast a seed into the earth that must spring up in dragon's teeth. I warn the people of Georgia that there is, at the bottom of this feeling and policy, the germ of treason to the cause of the South—the cause of liberty and indepen-CO-OPERATIONIST.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S LAST .- The Louisville Journal tells a good story at the expense of a colonel who was dismissed from the service on charges of discoyalty. The colonel appealed to President Lincoln, and after a long ta k the latter, apparently convinced of his loyalty, proposed to make him a brigadier general, providing he would submit to a certain test. To this the officer gladly acceded, when, much to his chagrin, Mr. Lincoln proposed to give him the command of a next brigadier. to give him the command of a negro brigade. The brave colonel "didn't see it." NORTH CAROLINA.

A PROCLAMATION BY GOV. VANCE.

The Richmond Enquirer of the 12th instant contains the following proclamation by Governor VANCE, of North Carolina, issued in view of what the Enquirer calls " the lawless and treasonable menaces made at some of the peace meetings held in the old North State." It proves at least that many of the people of North Carolina are dissatisfied with their condition under the Confederate Government:

with their condition under the Confederate Government:

Whereas a number of public meetings have recently been held in various portions of the State, in some of which threats have been made of combined resistance to the execution of the laws of Congress, in regard to conscription and the collection of taxes, thereby endangering the public peace and tranquillity, as well as the common cause of independence, which we have so solemnly engaged to defend: And whereas it is my solemn duty to see all the laws of the land faithfully executed, and quiet and order sustained within our borders:

Now, therefore, I, Zebulon B. Vance, Governor of the State of North Carolina, do issue this my proclamation.

State of North Carolina, do issue this my proclamation, commanding all such persons to renounce such evil inten-tions, and warning them to beware of the criminal and fitions, and warning them to beware of the criminal tal consequences of carrying such threats into execution.

The inalienable and invaluable right of the people to The inalienable and invaluable right of the people to assemble tegether and consult for the common good, together with its necessary concomitants—the freedom of speech and the press—are secured to you, my countrymen, by the most sacred compacts. They shall never find a disturber in me. Yet you will remember that the same instruments which guaranty these great rights also limit you to the exercise of them within the bounds of law, and impose upon me the solemn duty of seeing that these bounds be not trangressed. The Constitution of the Cenfederate States, and all laws passed in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land. Resistance to them by combination is treason, and, without combination, is a high crime against the laws of your country. Let no one be crime against the laws of your country. Let no one be deceived. So long as these laws remain upon the statute book they shall be executed.

Surely, my countrymen, you would not seek to cure the evils of one revolution by plunging the country into another. You will not knowingly, to the present desolating war with the common enemy, add the horrors of internal war with the common enemy, add the horrors of internal strife and entire subversion of law and civil authority. You must not forget the enviable character which you have always maintained as a sober, conservative, and lawabiding people; nor would I have you to forget the plair, easy, and constitutional method of redressing your grievances. Meet and denounce any existing laws if you think proper—you have that right—and instruct your representatives in Congress or the State Legislature, as the case may be, to repeal them.

Your own chosen servants made those obnoxious laws; they can repeal them if such are your instructions. If you

they can repeal them if such are your instructions. If you regard them as unconstitutional our Supreme Court sits ready to decide upon all cases properly brought before it. Its decisions are final in the State of North Carolina, and shall be executed while the power remains in your Executive to enforce any law. There is no grievance to redress and no proposition to be made but can be most beneficially effected in the way our fathers marked out, by the ballot-box and the other constitutionally appointed means. In times of great public sensibility like the present any departure from this legal channel is revolutionary and dangerous, and tends to the division and destruction of our

people.

It is my great desire, and I hope that of all good citizens, that our people should remain united, befall us what may. Should we triumph in the great struggle for indepeudence, let no feelings of revenge, no bitterness mar the rejoicings of the day Should we fall and come short of the great object for which we have struggled so long and bled so freely, let not our strifes and domestic feuds add to the bitterness of defeat.

Attempts suddenly to change the existing order of things would only result in bloodshed and ruin. I therefore implore you, my countrymen, of all shades of political opinion, to abstain from assembling together for the purpose of denouncing each other, whether at home or in the army, and to avoid seeking any remedy for the evils of the times by other than legal means and through the properly constituted authorities.
We are embarked in the holiest of all causes which can

We are constructs—the cause of liberty and independence. We are committed to it by every tie that
can bind an honorable people. Multitudes of our bravest
and best have already sealed it with their blood, whilst
others, giving up all earthly possessions, are either languishing in dungeons or are homeless wanderers through
the land, and all have felt, in a greater or less degree, the
iron hand of war. A great and glorious nation is struggling to be born, and wondering kingdoms and distant empires are stilled with listening hope and admiration, watching the greatest of human events. Let them not, I pray
you, be shocked with the spectacle of domestic strife and
petty malignant feuds. Let not our enemy be rejoiced to
behold our strong arms, and stronger devotion, which have
often made them tremble, turned against ourselves. Let
us rather show that the God of Liberty is in his holy
temple—the hearts of freemen—and bid all the petty bickerings of earth keep silence before Him.

Instead of engaging in this unholy and unpatriotic strife,
and threatening to resist the laws of the land and endanger
the peace of society, let us prepare diligently and with
hopeful hearts for the hardships and sufferings of the coming winter. Heaven has blessed us with abundant crops,
but thousands of the poor are unable to purchase. Let
us begin in time and use every effort to provide for them stir the hearts of all patriots-the cause of liberty and in-

and secure them against suffering. And let us exert our-selves to the utmost to return to duty the many brave but nisguided men who have left their country's flag in the hour of danger; and God will yet bless us and our chil-dren, and our children's children will thank us for not despairing of the Republic in its darkest hours of disaster, and still more for adhering to and preserving, amid the

and sold more for antering to and preserving, amid the fiery trials of war, conservative sent ments, and the rights and civil liberties of the young Confederacy. In witness whereof, Zebulon B. Vance, Governor, Cap-[L. S.] tain General, and Commander-in-Chief, hath signed these presents and caused the Great Seal of the State to be affixed. Done at the city of Raleigh, this 7th day of September, A. D. 1863, and in the year of American independent the 88th. Z. B. VANCE.

THE RIOTS AT RALEIGH.

The Richmond Enquirer of Friday contains the following telegraphic despatch, giving a brief account of recent riots in that place, which have been heretofore announced RALEIGH, (N. C.) SEPT. 10, 1863.

Some soldiers of Benning's brigade, apparently led by efficers, mobbed the Standard newspaper office last night, about 10 o'clock, destroying the furniture and throwing the type into the street. They also destroyed a lot of State rinting, &c. Vance reached the spot after the work of destruc

tion was nearly over and addressed the crowd, begging them to desist and rebuking them for the act; telling them that no such example had been set in Lincoln's dominions. The soldiers cheezed Gov. Vance, and dispersed at one 'clock and left the city. The building and power-press of the office were not lamaged, and Mr. Holden will, resume the publication of

the Standard in a few days. This morning about seven o'clock some one rung the town bell, and a crowd of citizens gathered and rushed upon the State Journal office, turning the contents into the streets, bresking up furniture, &c.

The Mayor was sent for, but arrived too late to stop the

mob. Governor Vance was sent for, and made a splendid speech. The crowd dispersed, and all is quiet now.

No further deeds of violence need be teared from the citizens if the soldiers are restrained, but any further such

emonstrations by them will cause another outbreak, and

FIRST LESSON AT THE RIDING SCHOOL.

The next day the victim will arrive at the school—a large barn-like building—and will find several other victims, old and young, undergoing tuition from the riding-master, a man in boots, with lumbs of steel and lungs of brass, who stands in the middle of the rebool, and thence brass, who stands in the middle of the rebool, and thence roars his commands. This functionary, with one glance, takes stock of the new arrival's power of equitation, and orders a helper to bring in one of the stock chargers for such riders, a strong old horse, knowing all the dudges of the school, and accustomed, so far as his mouth is concerned, to the most remarkable handling. He comes in, perhaps, with a snort and a bound, but stands stock still to handling. perhaps, with a snort and a bound, but stands abook still to be mounted—a ceremony which the pupil seems to think consists in grasping handfuls of the horse's mane and flunging himself bodily on the horse's back. The stern man in boots advances and gives him proper instruction, off starts the horse, and takes his position at the end of a little procession which is riding round the school. Then upon the pupil's devoted head comes a flood of instructions. Calling him by name, the riding-master tells him that "Position is every thing. Don't sit on your horse like a sack! Body upright, elbows square, clutch the horse with that part if the legs between the knee and the ankle, toes up, air—this is managed by pressing the heel down—where are you turning them toes to, sir? Keep 'em straight, pray!—Tr-rot'." At the first sound of the familiar words the old horse starts off in the wake of the others, and the rider is jerked forward, his hat g adually works either over his ey's or on to his coat. of the others, and the rider is jerked forward, his many advally works either over his eyes or on to his coat collar, his tees go down, his heels go up, he rows with his legs as with oars. When the word "Cantarr!" is given, he is reduced to clinging with one hand to the pommel, but this resource does not avail him, for at the command but this resource does not avail bim, for at the command "Circle left!" the old horse wheels round unexpectedly and the new pupil pitches quietly off on the tar

It is stated that Gen. RIPLEY, Chief of Ordnance, has been placed on the retired list, and that Col. RAMSEY, of the Washington Arsenal, has been temporarily appointed to fill his place; also, that Capt. BENTON has been ordered to the command of Washington Arsenal, in place of Col,